

# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 7  
No. 5



SUFFRAGE AN IRREPARABLE  
WRONG;  
NOT AN INALIENABLE RIGHT

HOW SUFFRAGISTS BID FOR  
THE LIQUOR VOTE

WOMAN AND PEACE

WOMAN'S IMMEDIATE DUTY

THE VALUE OF DISINTERESTED  
WORK

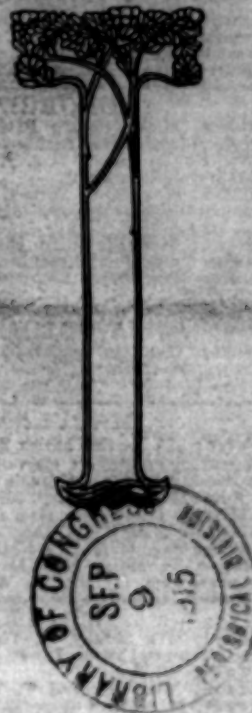
HOW SUFFRAGISTS PLAN TO  
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NEW YORK "ANTI" BY 250,000

HOW SUFFRAGISTS TRIED TO  
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LABOR FEDERATIONS AGAINST  
SUFFRAGE

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37 West 39th Street, New York City

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## "AN IRREPARABLE WRONG; NOT AN INALIENABLE RIGHT"

(From *Rochester Post-Express*, July 21.)

THE whole country side turned out on Saturday night at Conesus to hear Mrs. Henry I. Burton, daughter of a former townsman, Andrew N. Perrin, speak on anti-suffrage at the town hall. Every inch of standing room was taken, and the crowd extended out into the street. The speaker was introduced by S. Edward Hitchcock of Conesus, former master of the Conesus grange. Mrs. Burton said in part:

I want to ask four questions tonight: Who are the suffragists? What do they want? Why do they want it? And why can't they have it?

The suffragists are a group of women who claim to have 270,000 members in the State of New York, only 5,000 of whom, according to Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, are dues paying members. And what do they want? They want to get the ballot for themselves, and to thrust it on all the women of New York State next November. You may believe in partial suffrage for

women, but that is not the proposition. It is not the working woman, nor the property-owning woman, nor the educated woman, but every woman of voting age and qualification in the State.

Why do they want it? First, because they say it is a right. Ten per cent. of the women declare that the ballot is an inalienable right. To most of the women it appears an irreparable wrong. Again, they want it because they say it will abolish the evils of intemperance; yet in the suffrage States where women have voted from one to forty-five years there are about two saloons to every one in the Anti-Suffrage States. More exactly—there is one saloon to every 211 inhabitants in the woman suffrage States,—and one to every 381 inhabitants in the man suffrage States.

Thirdly, they want it because "taxation without representation is tyranny;" yet the average tax-paying woman is an Anti because she knows Woman Suffrage will raise taxes. Colorado has the highest tax rate in the United States—\$40 per \$1,000—and it gives its citizens the poorest return

for their money, the poorest protection, since it is the only State in the Union which has called upon Federal troops twice in ten years to quiet civil war within its boundaries.

Why must suffrage fail? Because it is an unwarranted extravagance. It would cost New York State at least \$2,500,000 each year to register the women's vote. It cost Chicago \$700,000 to vote in one municipal election. Efficiency and a lower cost of living is the cry of the hour—not duplication of machinery and a needless increase in taxes.

It must fail because with nearly a million more inhabitants than all the full suffrage States put together, with immigration problems that are staggering the most astute students of political economy; facing a financial crisis which is calling for the keenest business acumen, with a great harbor exposed to the attack of a foreign enemy, New York State must not try this dangerous and revolutionary experiment at this time. Gentlemen, you must vote NO on the suffrage amendment next November.

## HOW SUFFRAGISTS BID FOR THE LIQUOR VOTE

By MRS. A. J. GEORGE

MRS. J. O. MILLER, president of the Equal Franchise Federation of Pittsburgh, speaking at a political gathering recently, denied, according to the *Pittsburg Sun*, that women suffrage had anything to do with prohibition.

"The suffrage party," said Mrs. Miller, "is a party apart from any other party. For one thing, there is an impression that the Prohibition party owns the Suffrage party. This is erroneous. Upon the other hand, there are those who have been confused into believing that all suffragists favor prohibition.

"The truth of the case is that some prohibitionists do and some do not favor the enfranchisement of women, and some suffragists favor prohibition and some are opposed to it. Each party is confident that its cause will stand upon its own merits. In other words, neither the prohibition nor the suffrage party desires to come into its own under a mortgage of promises and pledges."

This is directly in line with what Miss Minnie Mulry and other suffrage speakers have been telling the brewery workers in

Massachusetts. Speaking before the Springfield brewery workers recently, according to the *Springfield Republican*, Miss Mulry said:

"We are not interested in the fight of the prohibitionists or any other movement. We believe the liquor problem is an issue with which women working for recognition in politics have absolutely nothing to do. The prohibition question must be threshed out in the business world on the efficiency basis."

Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, known as "the mother of suffrage in Washington, Oregon and Idaho," and a warm friend of the president of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, calls the prohibitionists "pirates," and has no use for the W. C. T. U., according to the *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 15. At an international congress of wine producers in San Francisco on July 14th Mrs. Duniway said that once a month enough wine could be imported into prohibition Oregon to float a battleship. She closed her remarks with the statement that she had no patience with those who "depend on a

pussy-wussy piece of white ribbon for protection from themselves."

Mrs. Duniway made these caustic remarks in a woman suffrage city which has 3500 saloons—five times as many as the City of Boston, which is one-third larger than the City of San Francisco. She also made it in a State which has had woman suffrage since 1911, but which in 1914 defeated prohibition with the aid of women's votes by nearly 200,000 majority.

These facts ought to be a revelation to those good men and women who have been led by suffragists to believe votes for women will mean the end of the saloon in this State. For it is no longer a profound secret that while some suffrage speakers are detailed to reassure the brewery workers, others are detailed to promise prohibitionists that "votes for women" will mean the fruition of their temperance hopes.

All the facts prove that the temperance tail to the suffrage kite is a tail added solely for the purpose of catching the unwary vote.



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Vol. VII

September, 1915

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

IT IS with great regret that we feel called upon to publish this editorial. It deals with recent unscrupulous attacks by innuendo on the part of the leading American suffragists which demand definite and immediate treatment.

We anti-suffragists have heretofore been accused, as an organization, of being in league with the powers of darkness.

Strangely enough, it never seemed to occur to the accusing suffragists that an organization of women opposed to woman suffrage was composed of individual women.

Just who these women are, their ideals and their accomplishments are all matters easily ascertained, all matters of record.

The conscientious and friendly inquirer, and even her casual and hostile sister, knows that investigation of the membership list of any anti-suffrage association shows a group of women as public spirited as any other group of women in the country.

These women have sincere convictions.

They are earnestly opposed to woman suffrage because they believe it would work untold injury to women, to the State, and to all humanity.

This conviction is based upon what appears to them to be sound reasons.

The service which these thoughtful women have rendered to the State through charitable, educational, philanthropic and other humanitarian work entitles them to respect.

Their opinions are received with so much respect by voters that suffragists have refused to debate with them the question of woman suffrage.

As an organization, this group of individual women has frequently been attacked by suffragists who could not meet their arguments.

It has remained for the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to accuse the anti-suffragists, not as an organization, but as women.

In a speech, the suffragist President, Miss Anna Howard Shaw, recently said: "If the women known as anti-suffragists are not working for some hidden, cloaked force, why are they working at all?"

This leader of the woman suffragists of America seeks to defame the character of women with poisonous generalities, based only upon imagination, and for no reason except that they disagree with her upon a matter of public procedure.

The lowest politician would not stoop to defame the character of women. Hardened campaigners are wise enough to avoid the obviously "unfair." They also have a measure of self-respect.

Furthermore, the shrewd politician does not permit even his most unbalanced and enthusiastic orator to make campaign charges which he cannot even hope to prove.

Miss Shaw is both a leader and an orator.

As a leader she must be accepted as dictating the guiding policies of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

As a leader she dictates what she shall say as an orator.

As an orator she said in a recent speech: "Anti-suffragists deny that their revenue comes from certain sources, but we have gathered and published proof that this is true."

She infers that these "certain sources" are not honorable sources, but she is careful not to be explicit. Inference is the coward's subterfuge.

Miss Shaw is constantly making unfair statements from which her hearers may draw untrue inferences.

Miss Shaw's statement quoted above is an untruth.

It is untrue that the sources from which come the meager anti-suffrage funds are dishonorable sources, or in any way associated with the liquor interests, as Miss Shaw intends her hearers to infer.

It is untrue that the suffragists have ever published proof that the anti-suffrage funds are drawn from improper sources.

They have not done so because they could not do so—a good and sufficient reason.

Unable to adduce proof of something which exists only in their own minds, the National Suffragist Organization nevertheless permits its leader to publicly accuse conscientious opponents of being in league with the powers of vice and supported by them.

This is doubtless a part of that "new morality" to be ushered in with the hoped-for day of feminism whose dawn is woman suffrage.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE.

THIS association was organized for the specific purpose of fighting woman suffrage, but in thus opposing the enfranchisement of women we stand for much more.

Two years ago the following announcement was made in THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

"We are a body of conservationists. Our aim is to conserve the home, to conserve motherhood, to conserve womanhood. We seek to preserve all that is best in the old order of things, to incorporate what is excellent in the new; we seek to continue our part of the foundation of the social fabric along these lines and not along the lines of economic independence for all women, of socialism and of feminism."

This does not mean that we think that individual women have not a right to earn their living, as they have been given increasing opportunities to do of recent years; but that the home should not be sacrificed in so doing and that the development of the individual woman should not be at the expense of those nearest to her.

We believe that the home is still the best place for woman in spite of the large number of women who must go out of it to support themselves. That the self-supporting woman agrees with us is evidenced by the large percentage of working girls who marry before they are twenty-five.

We believe that motherhood is still the greatest occupation for woman.

We believe that the best training for a girl is that which fits her to become the best kind of mother in the difficult and complex social conditions of modern life.

We believe in high ideals and standards of womanhood. The tendency of modern times is to lower these ideals and standards. We are working to counteract many modern teachings and influences which, if allowed to go on unchecked, are sure to result in the deterioration of womanhood.



## "TO THE ALMIGHTY"

(H. S. in the *New York Times*.)

Lord God, we pray for peace! We lift our  
plea  
That to these shores the red tide shall  
not roll,  
Yet first we ask this greater boon of Thee—  
This greater boon, still dearer to our  
soul:

That peace shall not be ours if peace be  
base;  
That ease shall not be ours if ease be  
shame;  
That Thou wilt teach us, if we must, to  
face  
The wrath and wrack, the fury and the  
flame.

Point us the way of service, mighty Lord!  
Make us to see the high thing we must  
do,  
And if, to serve, we needs must bare the  
sword,  
Nerve heart and arm to see the dread  
task through.

Dear God, we pray for peace, but first we  
pray  
That this, our country, loved by us so  
well,  
Shall not from duty turn her face away—  
Shall not lose hope of Heaven for fear  
of Hell.

## WOMAN AND PEACE

By AGNES REPPLIER

(From the *National Sunday Magazine*, August 15.)

I AM not an opponent of woman suffrage; but if the women of the United States obtain the franchise within the next few years, and—dominated by a dangerous sentimentalism—exercise this power in advocating disarmament, or in opposing an adequate naval and military defense, our country will be in peril of invasion. It will have been betrayed by its women.

When the women of France refused to participate in the International Congress of Women at The Hague, they defined their position in a document so dignified and so logical that it deserves to be handed down to future ages, as an illustration of inspired common sense lifted to the heights of heroism. Let no one who reads it ever deny that women are capable of clear thinking, of sane and balanced judgment. In contrast to the vague and formless peace-talk which came floating over to us from The Hague—talk which dealt exclusively with generalities—the clear utterances of these Frenchwomen rang with insistent exactitude. They rejected all sentimental abstractions, and presented in a concrete form the circumstances which had pushed France into the conflict, and which held her still at bay. "It were treason to think of peace until that peace can consecrate the principles of right."

The lucidity of the French mind, the essentially practical nature of the French genius, are responsible for the form of this historic document; but back of the form lies the spirit, and the spirit is one of sustained self-sacrifice. "To-day it is with pride we wear our weeds; it is with gratitude that we perpetuate the memory of our dead." At a time when every franc could buy some sorely needed supply, when every hour could be filled with some sorely needed service, sensible Frenchwomen refused to spend both money and time in journeying to The Hague for the dear delights of talking. They had other and better occupations. But deeper than their reluctance to do a wasteful thing was their reluctance to do a treasonable thing, to put the comforts of peace above the sacrifices entailed by war, to refuse by word or deed their share of a common burden.

It is absurd to suppose that these brave and suffering women do not feel the "peculiar moral revolt against both the cruelty

and the waste of war," quite as sharply as does Miss Addams, or any other delegate at The Hague. The "basic foundation of home and of peaceful industry" is as dear to them as to the English and American women who say so much about it. As a matter of fact, it is their devotion which holds together the shattered homes of France, their industry which preserves economic safety, and gives food and shelter to the destitute. And through terrible successive months of pain and privation, it has not been from the lips of Frenchwomen that we have heard wild and weak complaints. Never once have they assumed that they were better and nobler than their husbands and sons who died for their country's need.

What are the qualities demanded of women in every great national crisis? First of all, intelligence. They should have some accurate knowledge of what has happened, some clear understanding of the events they so glibly discuss.

Next to intelligence, a woman's most valuable asset is a reasonable modesty. She is terribly hampered by a conviction of her own goodness. It gets in her way all the time, clouding her naturally clear perceptions, and clogging her naturally alert conscientiousness. She is wrong in assuming with Miss Addams that she feels a "peculiar moral passion of revolt" against war. She is wrong in assuming with Frau Schwimmer that she "supplants physical courage with moral courage," when she clamors vaguely for peace. There are men in plenty who feel the moral passion of revolt quite as keenly as the most sensitive of women; but who also feel the moral responsibility of defending the sacredness of their assaulted homes.

The third and the most vital thing asked of women in these dread days is self-sacrifice. They must give their share of help, they must bear their share of sorrow. They cannot dignify their reluctance to do this by calling it moral revolt, or moral courage, or any other high-sounding name. If they are, as they say, responsible for the conservation of human life, they must also be responsible for the ennobling of human life, for the cherishing of some finer instinct than that of self-preservation.



## THE IMMEDIATE DUTY OF WOMEN

**P**REPAREDNESS against foreign aggression as opposed to complacent self-glorification is the keynote of a series of articles in *Everybody's* for September, from which we quote extracts.

These sentiments are directly opposed to those of the peace-at-any-price advocates, which include many agitators for woman suffrage, both men and women.

The Anti-Suffragists are giving their own efforts toward national preparedness, as the most effective means of maintaining peace. The following quotations help to explain why:

(E. J. Ridgway in *Everybody's*.)

America sadly, but grimly, begins the task of equipping herself for adequate defense. She had hoped and believed that the world was growing past the barbarisms of war. So strongly had she believed it that, in a nation of a hundred million, she had a mobile army of just thirty-one thousand scattered over her three and one-half million square miles.

The soul of America has been obsessed with her vision of the universal good and good-will. It, has not been a hobby. It is her birthright. The breath of her life. Her heritage, straight from the Fathers who lived for her and died for her.

America understands now. She knows that the nations are not less worthy than they were. Only less worthy than she hoped they were. She will adjust herself to conditions as they are. Only so can she hope to preserve for humanity her vision which will one day light the world.

Every American should take the time and the trouble—though he ought to regard it as a privilege—to inform himself in detail as to the conditions in other countries, and, especially, in his own country.

America has been so busy with her vision of good-will to all mankind that her thought and spirit have overleaped her own boundaries. She has taken to her great heart the oppressed and unhappy of earth. Concerned with the future and the needs of other nations, her sons and daughters have become somewhat forgetful of America's past, somewhat negligent of America's needs.

Americans should take this occasion to refresh themselves in the history of their own country, for when all the extravagance is stripped from the record of her deeds there remains sufficient to justify all the honest pride of a proud race.

## "DISINTERESTED, APPEALING TO ALL HUMANITY"

By MISS FLORENCE R. HALL

**A**MELIA E. BARR, the novelist, who at the age of 86 is working on her sixty-sixth book, said a short time ago that the present agitation conducted by the suffragists is similar to that begun by them before the Civil War, and that she expected that it might have a similar ending. When the war began, "woman's rights" were forgotten, and instead, the doctrine of woman's duties was put into practice.

But did these suffrage agitators of that time lead "armies of women" to the front, or even serve with distinction in the hospitals as nurses? They did not. Did Lucy Stone, who was so independent that she never bore her husband's name, and wore bloomers at the Philadelphia convention in 1854, lead a regiment to battle? She did not. Did Susan B. Anthony, who pleaded before the New York Legislature in 1860: "Any legislation that will do for man we will abide by most cheerfully \* \* \* undo what man did for us and strike out all special legislation for us; we do not tax man to take care of us" ask for "equal rights" to service as a soldier when the war broke out? She did not.

"These women who are called masculine, who are brave, courageous, self-reliant and independent \* \* \* this is our type of womanhood; will you help us raise it up?" she demanded in 1860—but from 1860 to 1865 the "masculine" and "brave" suffragists who had "courageously" worn bloomers in 1854—well, where were they, anyhow?

In 1867, there appeared a great book, entitled: "Woman's Work in The Civil War," which chronicled the brave deeds of the women who served as nurses and the women—there were a few—who even commanded troops in battle in isolated instances. Strangely, there is no mention of one suffrage leader in the book!

The woman's name who leads the list is that of Dorothea L. Dix, the anti-suffragist prison reformer, who was Superin-

tendent of nurses during the war. She it was who began the movement for the kinder treatment of the insane and their separation from other prisoners. Her exertions, unaided by any vote, or vote-seeking women, contributed greatly to the foundation of the State Hospitals for the Insane in Pennsylvania, New York, Rhode Island, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana and North Carolina.

In April, 1854, while the suffragists were wearing bloomers, Dorothea Dix got a bill through the House of Representatives appropriating ten million acres of land for the relief of the indigent insane. The bill was vetoed by President Pierce on the ground that the general Government had no constitutional power to make such appropriation.

All the suffrage societies put together in the last seventy years have not achieved as much for their sex or humanity as this one woman, who was described in 1867 as: "exceedingly quiet and retiring in her deportment, delicate and refined in manner, with great sweetness of expression. She was far from realizing the popular idea of the strong-minded woman—loud, boisterous and uncouth, claiming as a right, what might, perhaps, be more readily obtained as a courteous concession."

"Distinctly and emphatically, Miss Dix believed in woman keeping herself aloof and apart from anything savoring of ordinary political action. \* \* \* She must be the incarnation of a purely disinterested idea appealing to universal humanity, irrespective of party or sect."—Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix, by Francis Tiffany.

What woman can the suffragists exhibit who has accomplished as much as Dorothea Dix? True, she is forgotten now—the average person would believe that a syndicate writer is referred to should you mention the name. But—will history remember the heroines of feminism, or of the "woman's peace party" of 1915? It will not.



## HOW SUFFRAGISTS PLAN TO HARASS CONGRESS

**D**ESPITE the fact that their task is hopeless, the suffragists are planning a demonstration before Congress which meets in December.

The futility of the proceeding is evidenced by several facts. The present Congress has already disposed of the matter by a negative vote in the House. Many State Legislatures have, since that time, voted against submitting a suffrage amendment to the people of separate States.

Another factor is the doctrine of State's rights and the President's opposition, which are brought out in the following quotation from an editorial in the Lynchburg (Va.) *News*:

"Dexterously, with fingers deft, and nimble wit, the woman suffrage leaders persist in efforts to loosen the knot by which President Wilson is tied to his convictions. But they make no progress. To-day they are quite as far from success as when they first attacked the job. Mr. Wilson remains tied; securely tethered; hopelessly bound to honest, well-considered, deeply-rooted belief. To a delegation of 'Votes for Women' votaries, he so announced yesterday—admitted his slavery to conviction; his subjection to matured judgment and carefully thought out conclusions. It's quite distressing, to be sure, from some stand-points that we should have such a hopelessly unyielding gentleman in the White House. But certainly as long as the South embraces a large negro population, so long will an equal suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution be doomed to inevitable defeat."

In the light of the futility of the planned demonstration, the following editorial appeal is very pertinent:

(New York Times, August 3.)

### AN APPEAL TO SUFFRAGISTS.

With the welfare of the nation in mind we respectfully direct the attention of our good friends, the woman suffragists, to this paragraph in the cabled report of the opening of the Russian Duma:

"The first sitting of the Duma, which opened to-day, holds out promise of work, with the object of promoting the production of military supplies and meeting the military requirements, rather than oratory. \* \* \*

It is desirable that the nation should feel the same confidence in the good promise of the next session of its Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled. There is work cut out for the national legislators to do that will require all their time, and the exercise of all their judgment. As far as possible, extraneous matters should be avoided in their deliberations. No Congress that ever assembled has had more important issues placed before it than the Sixty-fourth Congress will have to consider in its first session. With the kindest feeling, therefore, we appeal to the suffragists not to persist in their determination to invade Washington on the opening day and force their propaganda upon the minds of the legislators. They can derive no material advantage through Congress. If they are to win their fight they must conquer in the States. Their battleground is not Washington. But they know well, as we all know, that they have many sympathizers among the Senators and Representatives, and there is danger that some of these may be impelled, through their sense of chivalry, to waste the nation's precious time in debating the question. Words spoken in Con-

gress in favor of granting the women the right to vote must be empty words. They can have no practical result. Therefore should the women be not only merciful but sufficiently patriotic to resolve not to interfere with the course of Federal business.

Congress must consider important matters touching our foreign relations, the nation's finances, and the enlargement of our means of national defense. Various details developed in the consideration of these questions will precipitate protracted debates. They are all questions touching the interests of the women as well as those of the men. The suffragists will see, we hope, after thinking the matter over, that the present is not the time for them to force their own cause upon Congress. Let them wait for a more suitable time. If they do wait, it may never be necessary for them to appeal to Congressmen for their unprofitable moral support. If they win in New York State this Fall they may feel that their final victory can be obtained by sticking to a practical line of action.

The nature of the attack upon Congress is suggested in the following clipping:

(From the San Francisco Call.)

Miss Alice Paul, chairman and leader of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, is making a brief visit to California prior to the woman voters' convention next month to perfect the political plans for the convention and to make personal appeals in many of the Western States.

Miss Paul says: "The great demonstration in Washington on the day Congress meets will be the climax of our endeavors, when women from every State will march to the Capitol to present one of the most formidable suffrage petitions ever filed with that body. The largest section of it will, of course, be the Exposition petition, which I now hear is over 100,000 names long.

"An interesting fact in connection with the Washington demonstration lies in the fact that our headquarters are within a stone's throw of the White House, where the President can daily see the suffragists. The Washington demonstration, like the San Francisco convention in September, will end with a Susan B. Anthony pageant and a big mass meeting."

(From the New York Times.)

An automobile pilgrimage across the country by 100 women will start from San Francisco next month for Washington, to take to Congress a petition signed by thousands asking that the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment be adopted this year.

(Special to the New York Times.)

Every member of Congress is to be "indexed" by experts attached to the cause of woman suffrage in order that it may be known just where they stand with respect to the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution, which provides for giving women the right to vote throughout the United States. This announcement was made to-day by Miss Alice Paul, President of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. Among other things the indexers are to put down "whom each member of the Senate or the House married and what church he affiliates with," to quote Miss Paul, but for what purpose this information is to be obtained is not disclosed.



THE following editorial was brought out by extreme actions at conventions and meetings at the San Francisco Panama Exposition. Coming from a newspaper in a *suffrage State*, it is extremely significant:

(San Francisco Chronicle, August 16.)

"A certain number of the advocates of woman's suffrage are making themselves exceedingly disagreeable and injuring the cause which they are trying to serve by insisting in blocks upon 'interviewing' public men, doing their best to extort from them words which they do not wish to say, and going off and ex-coriating them if they refused to be bulldozed.

"Now, if men should engage in such practices they would be kicked out of decent society, because it is held among men that an honest man is entitled to his honest opinion and to act upon that opinion until he is convinced that it is wrong. The women who do these things are tolerated merely because they are women. But such tactics do not get votes for women.

"The fact is that the majority of men do not care whether women vote or not, while the majority of women do not wish to vote, and refuse to do so. That being the case, men are disposed to vote for woman's suffrage in so far as they think they

please their womankind. To be pestered about the matter by strangers tends to make them oppose woman's suffrage. Men are naturally contrary.

"But the special thing which is injuring the cause of equal suffrage is the demand that it shall be forced upon States whose people do not desire it by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the attempt to drive out of public life all who will not stand for that.

"Such an amendment would be revolutionary. The country, at a time when passion ran high, once made the experiment of forcing suffrage of a class on to States which objected to it, and the consequences of that folly will doubtless prevent its repetition.

"The women who wish to vote are entitled to a respectful hearing. In any State in which they can enlist the majority of their own sex they will promptly get what they want. In this and other States it has been granted against the wish of a majority of women. But it would not have been given had its advocates conducted themselves after the manner of the group of women who are demanding that the right of States to regulate the elective franchise within their own boundaries shall be wrested from them."

## "NEW YORK ANTI-SUFFRAGE BY 250,000"

By LUCY JEANNE PRICE

I HAVE become not only a Chautauqua convert, but a real Chautauqua "fan," after having discussed the question of woman suffrage from the tented platforms for the second summer.

In the first place one has rather of a larger proportion of open-minded persons than in the average audience. Of course, our energetic opponents, whose zeal we must admire even if their logic does make us gasp a bit, do turn out even to the Chautauquas in well-organized bodies to "root" for their side, and an opposition speaker has as much chance of affecting them as Mr. Bryan would Lord Kitchener. It used to be right interesting this summer to see the same group of them at meeting after meeting when the Chautauqua sessions were held in towns close together. There they would be with their yellow ribbons across their blouses, their rainbow literature in their hands, and their violent appreciation of any evidence of the general delinquency of the masculine half of humanity. But back of them and at the sides of them were always scores of quietly interested women—often with babies in their arms to take the place of the yellow streamers—ready and anxious to know just exactly what were the rocks upon which the ideas of their sisters split into such differing currents and willing to judge fairly and impartially. They really *wanted to know!* That was the inspiring thing about the whole eight weeks—the number of people—men and women both—who *wanted to know*.

I think they realized that when the suffrage question was the only subject of propaganda mentioned on the circuit where both sides were given a place on the program instead of simply the affirmative side, there must be as much to be said against votes for women as there was for it.

A great part of the circuit crossed territory where the voice of an Anti-Suffragist had never been heard in public before. And, of course, in such places there was definite opposition to overcome without any crystallized sentiment against suffrage to help one. Because there is no spot in the State where the Suffragists, with their huge fund behind them and their many, many speakers, have not penetrated. But everywhere, in the places where they didn't even know there existed any organization against this doubling of the electorate, there were always Antis. Many of them had never called themselves that.

Many had never talked about it at all. But they would come up after the debate and with really wonderfully deep enthusiasm say, "Oh, I am SO glad you have expressed what we KNEW was right, only no one had ever given us the facts to back up our instincts. We DON'T want to go into politics. And our husbands are not going to put us there, we know."

And the men, who said, "Well, I'm glad to know that we can vote 'No' with a clear conscience. We were afraid maybe we were selfish in keeping the vote away from women if they wanted it. But now we know why they don't."

Incidentally the Suffragists, who are crying with usual sweeping disregard of evidence that the opposition to woman suffrage among the men will come this fall from those who are selfishly interested in "big business" or something equally frightening, would do well to consider the result of the straw votes among the men who attended the Chautauqua gatherings. Eleven times out of fifteen that vote was cast against suffrage, and yet the type of man from the country and small cities who attends afternoon sessions of the Chautauqua is not a slave driver of women employees nor is he interested in the distilling of strong drink.

The debates started in Perry, N. Y., and the last New York date was in Plattsburg, covering a considerable range of territory and before audiences of varying national strains in them; and the particularly interesting thing about these audiences was that in every place which we were told was a good Chautauqua town, that is, where the people were vitally interested in serious things such as the Chautauqua brings to them, and where they were alert and broadminded, in those towns the Anti side of the suffrage question almost always had its best reception.

As I did this same sort of tour in Ohio last summer, debating there with Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette, and as that was a campaign State, just as is New York State, I feel as though I had qualified to do a bit of forecasting on election results after concluding the tour this summer of eight weeks debating with Miss Helen Todd in this State. And therefore I am going to do what I realize is a risky thing at any time. I am going to put my "hunch" about this New York election into figures.

And I am going to predict that if every anti-suffragist does her duty New York State will defeat woman suffrage by a majority of 250,000 next November.



## HOW SUFFRAGISTS TRIED TO DELAY PROGRESS

By MRS. JOHN B. HERON

**M**OST persons realize that woman suffrage is useless in the achievement of anything of benefit for the sex or the State—but how many know that it and its agitation have always been an absolute drawback?

For instance, the suffragists have a stereotyped argument that nowadays, Antis oppose suffrage just as "education" for women was opposed in the early days.

They never produce historical verse or chapter to prove this assertion; their aim is only to advertise the argument by so much repetition that those who do not investigate for themselves will believe it without any evidence whatsoever.

If you ask a suffragist if there was ever an "Anti-Education" society of women, she will probably tell you that there may have been, though she cannot name it.

Now, we happen to be better posted on the situation, and the only time and place where a resolution was ever passed against education for women, that we can find in history, was at the 1850 convention of suffragists of Massachusetts! This was the resolution: "That every effort to educate women, until you accord her her rights, is futile and a waste of labor."

In other words, they "blacklisted" education just as they did charity a year ago, resolving not to contribute anything to any cause but that of votes-for-women, and signing printed slips sent out by the National Suffrage Association to that effect in answer to every appeal for aid.

It is needless to say that had this suffrage system of considering it "futile and a waste of labor" to educate women until they were voters been followed—no woman living in Massachusetts to-day would know the alphabet! And besides, would it not have been a great addition to an intelligent development of citizenship not to teach little children the elementary studies, but to let them grow up and get their "rights" to vote, before letting them know that the earth is round? Happily, however, education could not be boycotted by the suffragists "until women get the vote."

Twenty-six years before this resolution was passed by the suffragists Mary Lyon, the founder of Mt. Holyoke, studied at Amherst to become a qualified instructor in experimental chemistry. This was in 1824. Before the suffragists had resolved to hold up education for women till they got the vote, colleges for women and colleges at which women were admitted as well as men, had sprung up in various sections of the country; and before the formation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869, most of the State Universities had admitted women, while in 1884, nine years before women got the vote in Colorado, women entered even the technical schools in Boston without opposition.

And now, with colleges throughout the country, the National College Equal Franchise League boasts but 3500 members—though it costs but 10 cents to become one—and a college girl will join anything that has even the semblance of being of benefit or "in style" without much regard to the fee.

There is not now, and never has been any objection to education for women, *per se*. Various men and women have criticised the system of education; many have pointed out the folly of teaching women to learn everything else but their duties as wives and mothers, as is done in some of our colleges ruled by suffragists with ideals that knowledge of masculine affairs is "education" and knowledge of home-making a thing that it is somewhat of a disgrace, it seems, for many "educated" women to possess. With the cost of living always mounting, and ninety-three women in a hundred having to do their own housekeeping without servants after they are married; any education that does not teach household management must be looked upon as inadequate to the needs of women, the home and the child—yet it is a system which almost totally ignores these fundamentals that suffragists are forever prattling of as "education for women."

## LABOR FEDERATIONS VOTE AGAINST SUFFRAGE

**T**HERE are many straws nowadays which show that the wind is blowing strongly against the woman suffrage agitators.

The New Jersey press reports the recent action of the State Federation of Labor as being "the greatest surprise" of their annual convention.

Under the heading, "A jolt for woman suffrage," one newspaper says:

"The greatest surprise of the convention was the defeat of the resolution to indorse woman suffrage in this State. This was in direct contravention of the policy of the National Federation of Labor and was a complete reversal of the attitude of the position taken by the State Federation annually for many years previous. With 332 delegates entitled to vote, only 240 did so. The resolution to endorse suffrage received 96 votes, while 144 were cast in opposition."

We take it for granted that all those who are in favor of suffrage voted for it.

That this reversal is of intense significance is the opinion of the Newark *Star*, which said editorially on August 19:

### "A FACER FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE."

"Political equality for the sexes has been the consistent policy of organized labor in this country ever since the suffrage issue came into prominence. For twenty-six consecutive years it has been a plank in the platform of the American Federation of Labor. It was therefore a stunning surprise to the suffragists when the New Jersey Federation of Labor at Jersey City yesterday voted down a woman suffrage resolution by 144 to 96.

"This result is of evil omen for the suffrage constitutional amendment at the polls in this State on the 19th of November. A significant fact is that ninety-two dele-

gates in the hall did not vote one way or the other. This almost equaled the number of the declared friends of votes for women. If the dodging element is a criterion of what will happen at the special election, the stay-at-home vote may decide the fate of the cause at the polls in October and decide it in favor of the antis."

(From *Minneapolis Journal*, July 22, 1915.)

**T**HE Minnesota State Federation of Labor, which ended its thirty-third annual convention in Winona, Minnesota, on July 21, turned down by a large majority a resolution favoring woman suffrage.

One of the surprises of the convention was the decision of the convention not to reiterate its former advocacy of woman suffrage. By a vote of 113 to 64 the equal vote resolution was turned down.



## ARGUMENT FAILING, SUFFRAGISTS TURN TO "STUNTS"

THE suffragists are finding it extremely hard to secure the attention of men who have tired of their old fallacious arguments. On the other hand the anti-suffragists are finding men eager to get their arguments. One of the anti-suffrage speakers writes to headquarters: "It is interesting to see the attentive attitude of the men and to watch their attitude change from boredom to interest when they hear the anti side of the argument for the first time."

If there were any doubt that the suffrage arguments are falling on deaf ears, it would disappear in the light of recent suffrage "stunts" used to gain even passing attention. "Stunts" have replaced argument. Some of the recent suffrage "stunts" are described in the following newspaper clippings:

(From the *Port Jervis Gazette*)

Suffragists swarmed into the Polo Grounds on May 18, to see the battle between the Giants and the Cubs. It was "suffrage day on the diamond," by arrangement with the New York Baseball Club. For weeks suffrage fans had been in training trying to master the fine points of the game from the viewpoint of baseball fans. If the result left something to be desired, especially in the way of a baseball vocabulary, the fusion of suffrage and baseball interests certainly resulted in a great turn-out for the game on suffrage day.

(From the *New York Times*)

The latest scheme the suffragists have for advertising their cause and emphasizing that November will be a momentous month to them is a strange, square-rigged craft, a boat of hitherto unknown type, that runs from Coney Island to Brighton Beach and back again every Saturday and Sunday afternoon. It bears a ten-foot-long sign of bright yellow oilcloth, framed and mounted on uprights, so as to be seen by all, and bears on it in big black letters the injunction: "Vote for Woman Suffrage November 2nd."

(From the *New York Tribune*, July 28)

It was a close shave for the suffragists yesterday. Not really, but they pretended it was, as they visited all the leading barber shops in Manhattan and the Bronx to persuade the barbers to use their far-famed conversational abilities in winning sympathizers to the cause.

Four automobile loads of willing workers carried on the barber-day campaign. Each machine carried a big red and white striped pole. Some of the women's dresses carried out the same barber shop motif. Miss

Portia Willis, for instance, wore a rose colored linen dress and a big black hat with trailing red and white ribbons, which added a barbarian touch.

Miss Willis's car visited the shaving emporiums and pomade palaces from Wall Street to Astor Place.

"We want you to help us," she explained to one bowing head barber, "because when you hold a razor to a man's throat and then ask him if he will vote for suffrage you can probably get him to say 'Yes!'"

"Huh! it's the only way you can," came an unsympathetic grumble from the nearest chair.

(From the *New York World*)

When Greek met Greek, historians say, the struggle was horrendous,

The war tug lasted all the day; the slaughter was tremendous,

But yesterday in this odd town there came a mighty clashing,

The battle hot raged up and down, with endless verbal lashing.

Which means to say, in rhythmic way, those nifty Suffrage ladies,

In full strength made a furious raid, and gave the barbers Hades!

Now, barber men, tradition tells, are born to be loquacious,

And women, homely ones and belles, are ever disputatious.

So yesterday in full array the rival forces met,

And though the day has passed away, the echo's sounding yet.

And when the setting sun looked down, the barbers had blind staggers,

The Suffragists had won the crown as champion chin wagers.

(From the *Olympia, Wash., Recorder*)

Miss Hilma Johnson, a pretty suffragette, found a new way of advertising the "cause" on Fifth Avenue, New York, the other day. She appeared in the fashionable crowd with a new veil bearing on the margin the words "Votes for Women," and had to call the police to get away from the crush that followed her appearance.

(From the *Poughkeepsie Enterprise*)

Suffrage literature with a prize in every package is one of the latest devices for making converts. Mrs. Frederick Nathan, who recently spoke here (Poughkeepsie) is to leave New York next Friday morning for a tour through New Jersey with a quantity of suffrage literature as ballast and a number of small coins. The literature is to be delivered along the route, and the small coins are to be used to weight the suffrage fliers.

Even the camel has been pressed into the suffrage campaign. The suffragists saw the hump and immediately invited Mr. Camel to enter the campaign work at Asbury Park, where he ambles along through the sand bearing a message that all who run may read.

(From the *Troy Record*)

"Here's where you hop 'for victory in 1915!'" The suffragists have hopped into Luna Park, Coney Island, with an attraction all their own. Cover the United States in forty-eight hops, but don't step on the suffrage States. New York, at the top of the tortuous incline, is the goal. There stands Victory 1915 in a white dress and a yellow sash. If you can make the ascent on one foot, you will be rewarded with a souvenir box of "Votes for Women" caramels. The suffrage hopperie is being erected by the Equal Suffrage Publicity Corporation, of which Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse is president. On the incline there are squares representing every State in the Union, and each is plainly marked as to whether it is a suffrage State or a near-suffrage State, so that the effect is a first aid to suffrage geography.

The perambulator propelled by the ballot seekers who speaks from the street corner is another "stunt." This was not the success in Philadelphia that its originators hoped it would be, as they were forced to call in men to furnish the power.

In Buffalo they have an accomplished cornetist who has come out of the West. Miss Rose Bower advertises street meetings with a blast from her trumpet.

(From the *Boston Herald*)

July 24th was Suffrage Transfer Day in Boston. Transfer stations were established at various points in the city, at which transfers were distributed. Transfer slips duplicated in appearance the regular Boston Elevated transfers, and bore suffrage propaganda, together with the following transfer privileges: "Constitutional Amendment Suffrage Transfer. The bearer, having expressed himself in the presence of one of the suffrage conductors as being opposed to the amendment giving the women of Massachusetts the right to vote, is hereby given a transfer to the line on which a large majority of the voters will ride on Nov. 2, 1915. Not transferable. Time—right now. Transfer good only in the right direction. From Anti-Suffrage to Equal Suffrage. Good only if punched with the heart punch."



## WHY SUFFRAGE WILL INJURE THE FARMER

(From *Rochester Post-Express*, August 3.)

**R**OCHESTER anti-suffragists are making an energetic campaign through the rural districts to offset the stump speaking and grange work of the suffragists who have been working hard all summer. Mrs. Henry F. Burton, wife of Professor Burton of the University of Rochester, an anti-leader in Monroe county, spoke at the Livingston-Ontario carnival at Livonia last week on what the franchise for women would mean to the farmers. She said:

"Woman suffrage is unfriendly to the farmer first, because, according to the suffrage speakers themselves, the movement is opposed to large national appropriations for the benefit of agriculture. Miss Benedict, Miss Todd and Miss Thompson all within the last few weeks have said substantially: 'The same Congress which defeated woman suffrage appropriated only

\$50,000 for the investigation of child labor and \$300,000 for the investigation of pigs.' One speaker enlarged upon the subject by saying that huge sums were being appropriated for cattle and sheep by this same unwise national government. When asked if the money was for the direct happiness of the live stock, or for the protection of the voter and his family, who owned the live stock, she replied: 'Pigs and voters are very closely related!'

"You all know that an immense organization called the Soil Fertility League has worked for months for the passage of the Lever bill with its generous appropriation for the protection of the farms of the country. You must vote 'NO' on suffrage if you would continue to protect this legislation for the benefit of the rural communities.

"Again suffrage is unfriendly to the farmer because it increases the proportion of

the vote which is indifferent to the interests of the rural communities. It is a comparatively easy matter to get out the city vote where the polling places are just around the corner. Interested women in the cities will vote no matter what the weather or what the condition of the roads if they are going to vote at all, but it will be a different matter on a stormy November day in the country with the polling place several miles away. With woman suffrage in power a man and his wife must vote together in order to make the voting power of the family as strong as it was with man suffrage alone. Add to this the increased expense of elections, which must mean an addition to the taxes, and it is easy to see that woman suffrage is going to mean an unfriendly and unjust change so far as the farmer is concerned.

"Remember to vote on this amendment. Be sure to vote and to vote 'No.'"

## WHY SUFFRAGE STATISTICS ARE WRONG

By MISS MINNIE BRONSON

General Secretary, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

**S**UFFRAGISTS have sought in public prints to deny the accuracy of the recent criticism directed at their own inaccurate statistics.

A correspondent also takes *THE PROTEST* to task for this criticism in the August issue, and quotes *The World Almanac*. *THE PROTEST*'s figures were from the official volume entitled "Assessed Valuation of Property," published in 1915 by the United States Census Department.

For this correspondent and other suffragists the following elucidation is made:

The statement of the suffragists that the method of comparison used in refuting "A. S. B. figures were incorrect" does not bear analysis. It is true as stated by the suffragists that the per capita tax in Colorado—in the tax rate—dropped between the years 1902 and 1912. This was due principally to the large influx of non-taxpayers, which increased the population and naturally reduced the per capita tax. This, however, had nothing to do with the tax rate per hundred or per thousand dollars. Between 1902 and 1912 the tax rate per hundred dollars in Colorado increased from \$3.03 in 1902 to \$4.01 in 1912; that is, the taxpayer found that the tax had increased in three years 33 1-3 per cent. Moreover, in 1913 the new scheme of tax-

ation was put into operation and the assessed valuation of the property was raised from \$422,320,199 to \$1,306,536,692 in 1913. The tax rate per capita was prior to 1912, or before this increase.

To further show the specious methods of figuring pursued by the suffragists, let us refer further to A. S. B.'s article. She states that "the tax rate in Denver is \$1.19 for each \$100 of assessed valuation, while in Salt Lake and Spokane it is \$1.30, and then states that the highest tax rate in any city under equal suffrage is Quincy, Ill., \$6.17," and she also states that in Lincoln, Neb., where women do not vote, the rate reaches the surprising figure of \$9.65. These figures are certainly startling, but when you come to analyze them they once again show that suffragists cannot figure. The tax rate in Lincoln, Neb., is \$9.65, but it is assessed on only 20 per cent. of the actual valuation of the property, while the tax rate in Denver, which is \$1.19, is assessed on the actual value of the property. If the tax rate in Denver was assessed on the same basis as that applied in Lincoln, Neb., the rate per \$100 would be \$5.95 instead of \$1.19. The rate given in Boston is \$1.75, and in New York City as \$1.78. In both these instances this is assessed on the full value of the prop-

erty, while in Quincy, Ill., where the rate is \$5.17, this is assessed on only 33 1-3 per cent. of the actual valuation, or, in other words, under equal suffrage in Quincy the rate would be \$1.72, as compared with \$1.78 in New York and \$1.75 in Boston.

Again, no consideration is paid to self-sustaining or sinking fund bonds in comparing the assessments in municipalities. In New York City, for instance, bonds issued for dock purposes are self-sustaining and do not come under the provisions of the regular property tax assessment. Variations of this kind occur in all cities, counties and states, as we have found out before.

The suffragists gave a portion of the comment in the bulletin of the United States census on "Debt and Taxation" and referred to the statement that "Colorado was the only State to show a reduction from 1902 to 1912 in the per capita levy." Let us quote a little further: "These reductions were in all cases due primarily to the greater increase of population than in assessed valuation, and did not represent any decrease in the amount of taxes levied. As for instance in the case of Utah, the assessed valuation more than doubled from 1860 to 1870, but the population increased at a slightly higher rate."



## PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

### IN NEW JERSEY

ONE of the most encouraging signs of the times in New Jersey is the action of the State Federation of Labor, which, on the 16th of August, went on record as opposed to woman suffrage by a vote of 184 to 96. The Federation of Women's Clubs had already refused to consider the question and so has the State Grange. These facts, together with the vigorous campaign being waged by the women of the State against their own enfranchisement, and the recently organized league of men opposed to suffrage, have done much to shape public opinion in New Jersey.

Headquarters in Newark, Trenton, Summit and Montclair are educating the voters in regard to the viewpoint of the majority of the women of the State, while the New Jersey Association Opposed to Women Suffrage has opened permanent booths also in both Asbury Park and Atlantic City. Conventions, grange picnics and other gatherings, too numerous to category, have been supplied with speakers and literature. Miss Minnie Bronson's speech before the Federation of Labor is reported elsewhere in the PROTEST. Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin made a stirring appeal to the group of women who gathered at the New Monmouth Hotel, New Monmouth, to attend the anti-suffrage bridge party, which was so successful that the receipts aggregated nearly five hundred dollars. Mrs. Edward H. Cross was chairman of the committee. Miss Marjorie Dorman made such a good impression at the convention of the Exempt Firemen at Asbury Park that she has been invited to address the State convention of firemen at Atlantic City on September 29th. The Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has been so impressed with the ability of Mrs. Oliphant that it has retained her services during most of August, but she has also contrived to speak in New Jersey during the month, one of the most noteworthy occasions being the picnic at Lake Grinnell in Sussex County. Her opponent, Mr. Ferber, made a personal attack on Mrs. Oliphant, refusing to discuss the case on its merits. Such methods on the part of the Suffragists are becoming more and more frequent, and reached a climax when Mr. Bradley of Asbury Park refused to permit the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage to hold a meeting in the Auditorium, claiming that the Antis were allied with the liquor interests. This action on the part of Mr. Bradley met with the well-merited rebuke from the press, notable among the editorial condemnations being that of the *New York Evening Post*. Both Mrs. Oliphant and Mrs. Breese

answered Mr. Bradley in the press, while Mrs. Goodwin and Miss Dorman addressed a meeting in Asbury on the subject. Mrs. Goodwin said that if Mr. Bradley or the Suffragists would reveal the name of the member who had received any funds for the Anti cause from liquor sources, said member would be at once expelled from the organization. Miss Dorman declared that the Suffragists would not dare make this statement in regard to their side, as they placed no ban on such persons in the various suffrage associations. "Harriet Stanton Blatch is president of the Woman's Political Union of New York," said Miss Dorman, "and the fact that her money was derived from the sale of liquor does not deter the Suffragists in the least. The late Mr. Blatch was president of the May Brewing Company. Gen. Dennis F. Collins is president of a brewery—yet this fact did not annoy the Suffragists. They have elected Mr. Collins vice-president of the New Jersey Men's Suffrage League. Mrs. Gus Ruhlin of Brooklyn, wife of a prize fighter, runs her own saloon and decorates it with votes for women banners, yet the Suffragists did not hesitate to make her a marshal in their parade a few years ago. Mr. Bradley," continued Miss Dorman, "is a Methodist, and therefore he should be aware that many prohibitionists are Anti-Suffragists. In the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church both Bishop Vincent, founder of Chautauqua, and Dr. Buckley, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, have opposed woman suffrage. Does Mr. Bradley dare to say that these men and thousands of other Methodists, who know as much about the evils of alcoholism as he does, are allies of the liquor dealers?"

Mrs. Eva Browne and Miss Clara Markeson did splendid work at Belvidere during the old home week, distributing over 5,000 buttons. Miss Dorman debated the mooted question with Mrs. Minnie Reynolds, the latter displaying considerable acrimony when she was not permitted to speak last. The Chairman, however, who wore the Anti colors, assured the suffrage speaker that the program was already arranged, and that unless she took her allotted place she would not be permitted to talk at all. Accordingly, she talked first—not, however, with very good grace.

Atlantic City has a flourishing branch, organized by Mrs. J. W. Crumpacker. Mrs. Sarah Leeds, the president, is one of the leading W. C. T. U. women of New Jersey.

One of the most enthusiastic meetings held in the State during the month was that of the Atlantic City Republican Club, at which Mrs. Crumpacker spoke. At the conclusion of her speech, a rising vote was taken, and the Club went on record as

unanimously opposed to votes for women. The booth in charge of Mrs. Catherine Tullidge and Mrs. Crumpacker at Millwood was a great success.

### NOTES

At a suffrage meeting on an Asbury street corner a suffrage speaker stated that, if women had had the vote in New York the 72-hour canneries bill would not have been introduced in the Legislature. Men questioned as to why the women working in the canneries in Washington, Oregon and California could be worked unlimited hours, not being protected by even a 12-hour day, they announced that women's votes would change all this. "But," said the questioner, "women have had the vote in these States for four or five years." The Suffragist looked non-plussed for a moment, then said, triumphantly, "but there are comparatively few canneries in those States. They are not like the East."

"Quite so," retorted the questioner. "They are, indeed, unlike the East. California is the greatest fruit-growing and packing State in the Union, and the amount of shell-fish packed for shipment in Oregon and Washington is well known. Relatively, more women work in the canneries in those States than in any other trade." The Suffragist promptly turned the subject toward "white slavery."

### IN NEW YORK

ANYONE who has visited the offices of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage during the month of August would be impressed with the constant activity going on, and realize that the workers are very much in earnest in the final weeks of the campaign before Election Day. The chief effort has been made in the direction of the county fairs, for during August and September the Association will be represented at between forty and fifty of these fairs, which attract to them such large numbers of farmers.

Miss Markeson and Miss Uhl were specially engaged for the work of the fairs which the State Association is arranging directly from this office. If the fair at Cortland, N. Y., last week is any indication of the aroused interest which has spread all through the State in the anti-suffrage propaganda, the Suffrage amendment will receive an adverse majority on November 2d which will exceed even our fondest hopes.

The booth at the Cortland Fair was in charge of Mrs. M. C. Talbot of Baltimore, who has been working for us in this State since August 1st, and Miss Uhl. It was due to Mrs. Talbot that an enthusiastic anti-suffrage sentiment was aroused in Cortland, with the result that she secured one of the best spaces on the fair grounds



for the anti-suffrage booth. Miss Uhl addressed a large crowd from the grand stand after Governor Whitman had spoken there.

The committees in Albany, Utica, Rochester, Buffalo, Geneva, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, Troy, Glens Falls, Plattsburg, Cazenovia, Boonville, Palmyra, Canton and Gouverneur are all arranging for fairs in their special localities, and by the end of September it would seem some piece of anti-suffrage literature must have been placed in the hands of every voter in the rural districts of the State.

The State Fair at Syracuse the week of September 13th to 18th will be under the direction of the Syracuse Committee, of which Mrs. Jerome B. Moore is Chairman. It is hoped that the different local branches in that vicinity will each have a special day. Miss Price will be the speaker at that fair on September 16th.

We are distributing at these fairs thousands of the "Vote NO on Woman Suffrage" buttons, and find the men are delighted to wear them.

The records by Mrs. George and Miss Bronson will be widely used at these fairs and the "anti-suffrage rose" promises to be an attractive feature.

Local committees also arrange for the distribution of literature at all kinds of picnics and outings, for no man may hope to escape from this question even on a holiday in this year when this question is a real issue before the voters in New York State.

The press work increases with every week. This work is also in charge of local committees in many localities and over 400 letters of anti-suffrage material are sent out through the State each week, every county being reached, and plate matter will be used constantly during the coming months. Papers which, up to this time, have never used our material are now asking for it and giving us good positions on their pages.

A new committee has been organized at Oneida with the following officers:

Mrs. N. L. Cramer, Chairman;  
Miss Lillie Higginbotham, Vice-Chairman;  
Mrs. C. M. Ruggles, Secretary-Treasurer.  
This Committee opened headquarters last week at the time of the Firemen's Convention in Oneida and many of those attending the Convention visited it. Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, of New Jersey, was especially asked to address the Convention, and when she stopped speaking at the end of her allotted time—15 minutes—there was a unanimous request from the members present that she continue for another 15 minutes.

A set of "Silent Speeches" have been prepared for Fair use, consisting of twenty anti-suffrage sentiments printed on cloth and mounted on rollers, so that they can be easily turned over and the bystanders can read a very good anti-suffrage speech, if there is no speaker at hand.

The Annex, which was opened on 125th Street, New York, has also been open dur-

ing this month, and is especially crowded every afternoon between six and eight, when the men, returning from business, stop in and ask questions of those in charge. We find that a surprisingly large number of men have not yet decided how they will vote on this question and are open to conviction.

They are all impressed with the fact that women are so strongly opposed to the extension of suffrage to their sex that they are willing to undertake all the fatiguing activity connected with a campaign in order to keep New York State from making the grave mistake of extending suffrage to nearly three million women over twenty-one years old.

The Brooklyn Auxiliary has also had an especially successful Annex in the Bay Ridge district during the past week. Miss Charlotte Rowe, who is treasurer of the Wage Earners' League, has spoken there every night to very enthusiastic audiences and the suffrage attempts to break up the meetings on more than one occasion have been frustrated.

#### AT THE CHAUTAUQUAS

**R**EPORTS circulated by the Suffragists that the straw votes at the New York State Chautauqua debates between Miss Lucy Price and Miss Helen Todd were stopped because Miss Price complained that her defeats injured her reputation as a debater are not true. The real facts, as printed in the New York newspapers, are as follows:

Miss Price and Miss Todd have spoken 34 times since June 26, when the Chautauqua debates began. In four out of every five towns where these votes were taken the majority of the men were against woman suffrage, and in every case the majority of both men and women were against suffrage.

At Moravia 43 men and 187 women voted against suffrage and 35 men and 130 women for. At Ovid 39 men and 136 women voted against and 19 men and 104 women for. At Cazenovia the joint majority against suffrage was 77 and at Hamilton 7, and in each instance there was a large majority of the men against.

The ballots taken at the first 11 Chautauquas resulted in the men voting against suffrage at eight of them and for suffrage at only three, and at one of these the majority in favor was only 2. At Perry, the first debate, the men voted 36 for and 103 against, or three to one against, which is about the proportion the suffragists claim will be the result in November.

The following telegram from Miss Price is in denial of the suffragist report:

Malone, N. Y., Aug. 5, 1915.

"I never requested Redpath Chautauqua Bureau to stop taking straw ballots. Anti-Suffrage was winning total vote oftener than losing. At the time vote was stopped

men's vote was anti 12 times out of 16. Only time audience was asked to vote on merits of debate I won men and women both. Stopped vote because not increasing interest. They will verify this."

#### MEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

**A** PLAN adopted in other States where suffrage has been defeated at the polls has been put into effect by the anti-suffragist organizations.

This successful plan is to put into the hands of the men's organizations opposed to woman suffrage the direction of the campaign just prior to election. The part of the women's organizations continues, as before, to be educational rather than actively political.

The following lists show the officers and members of executive committees of the men's anti-suffrage organizations in some of the campaign States of 1915:

#### THE MEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NEW JERSEY.

President, Colonel William Libbey; vice-president, Edward L. Keasbey; secretary, Walter C. Ellis; treasurer, John C. Eisele.

Executive Committee—T. H. Powers Farr, Coleman E. Kissam, Sherman B. Joost, Thomas B. Adams.

State Committee—Ex-Chancellor William J. Magie, Elizabeth; William H. Baldwin, Boonton; Herbert Barry, West Orange; B. B. Bobbitt, Long Branch; John H. Bon-sall, Morristown; Stockton B. Colt, Elizabeth; Henry M. Darcy, Newark; Judge Huston Dixon, Trenton; Edward Ehlers, Rockaway; James W. Gopsill, Jersey City; Edward E. Hill, Asbury Park; Mahlon Hoagland, Rockaway; Garret A. Hobart, Paterson; William Kearny, Perth Amboy; Charles M. Lum, Chatham; Charles W. Macquoid, Roselle; Dean W. F. Magie, Princeton; John A. Matthews, Newark; John A. Miller, Newark; Horace F. Nixon, Woodbury; John H. Penchoen, Westfield; Richard Stockton, Trenton; Dr. Joseph Stokes, Moorestown; William K. Vezin, Elizabeth; Dr. William Perry Watson, Jersey City; H. W. Woods, Little Falls; Rynier Wortendyke, Jersey City.

#### MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

Executive Committee—Everett P. Wheeler, Chairman; Walter C. Childs, Arthur B. Church, John R. Dos Passos, Charles S. Fairchild, Eugene D. Hawkins, Henry W. Hayden, George Douglas Miller, Robert K. Prentice, Louis T. Romaine, Herbert L. Satterlee, George W. Seligman, Prof. Munroe Smith, Francis Lynde Stetson, John C. Ten Eyck, Gilbert M. Tucker, Dr. Talcott Williams, George W. Wickersham.

Treasurer—Louis T. Romaine. Secretary—Franklin Carter, Jr. Office Secretary—George H. Owen.

Office—27 William Street, New York City.



## PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

### IN MASSACHUSETTS

**FAIRS.**—The Massachusetts Association has secured space at some forty or more of the fairs to be held throughout the State this Fall, and already at the Marshfield Fair, held the third week in August, have scored a remarkable success. From 9 o'clock to 12 o'clock on the first day over two hundred signatures were secured and by night every piece of literature available had been distributed.

At a large picnic given by an English association on Saturday, August 21st, a great quantity of buttons, tape measures and leaflets were distributed by one of our members, and in almost every instance the men and women were in sympathy with the Antis.

A large and attractive shop has just been opened at 53 Market Street, Lynn, under the charge of Mrs. Edwin Ford, State organizer, who reports much interest in that quarter. The Men's Organization at Lynn have furnished a reading and rest room, which is crowded both day and evening. Afternoon addresses are to be given by women speakers each afternoon and the men will be in charge of the rooms evenings and have three evening meetings each week. Members from Nahant, Swampscott, Marblehead and Salem are also interested in this venture, and its influence promises to be widespread along the North shore.

**WINDOW DISPLAYS.**—A committee in charge of window displays is securing window space in every town possible and the response of branches to this request has been almost unanimous. Large cards with appropriate mottoes, anti-suffrage fans, buttons, tape measures, posters and leaflets are furnished on request, and many attractive displays have already been placed.

The folding "Vote No" match cases which are being distributed by this association have made a great hit with the men. On one side is printed "Compliments of the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association," with the address; on the other "Vote NO on Woman Suffrage Nov. 2." On the edge is printed "There are 53,000 more women of voting age in Mass. than men. Do not give the government over to an inexperienced feminine electorate."

Another novelty is small cards, cut the size of visiting cards, with various sentences printed thereon, for individual distribution by the members. These are easy to carry, and those who are unwilling to work in any other way readily agree to leave these cards as they go about their daily duties.

THE RED CROSS WORK is still going on

under the auspices of the Public Interest League and the workers keep up their interest in spite of the heat, many of them having been on duty the entire summer.

The demands for literature increase every day and the membership list is steadily growing. Twenty-six meetings were officially arranged for in August, in addition to which there have been numerous private meetings and anti-suffrage entertainments. The labor organizations are giving our speakers every opportunity to address them and the results are most encouraging.

**REMONSTRANCE.**—An extra campaign issue of the REMONSTRANCE is to be out September 1st, same to be widely distributed throughout the State.

### IN PENNSYLVANIA

**T**HE Anti-Suffragists of Pennsylvania are now actively organizing throughout the State. In the Eastern District Miss V. J. Morrison, the Misses Oglesby, the Misses Nauss, Miss Helen Markeson, Miss Eva Swain and Miss Laura M. Sloan, General Secretary, have conducted meetings and had booths in York, Lebanon, Berks, Dauphin, Cumberland, Montgomery, Bradford and Lycoming counties. Northampton, Susquehanna, Tioga, Monroe, Chester and Juniata counties will be campaigned shortly. Twenty-seven county fairs in this district will be covered by the Antis in the next few weeks.

Mrs. Simeon H. Guilford, Mrs. William H. Beister, Mrs. W. D. Kennedy and Mrs. William Anderson have made tours through Delaware county, canvassing the sentiment and distributing literature. Mrs. Guilford declares that the Suffragists have made no impression in this district and believes the county will go overwhelmingly against votes-for-women.

In the western part of the State the Pittsburgh Association has opened new headquarters at 435 Wood Street, from which it is conducting a vigorous campaign at county fairs, organizing branches in many districts and getting wide publicity in the press. Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, Miss Minnie K. Bronson and Miss Clara Markeson, of the National and New Jersey Associations, have spoken in the Central and Western Districts. Mrs. Oliphant will address labor unions, clubs and other gatherings in the eastern section of the State throughout September.

The Public Interests Committee has prepared new and striking circulars on "What is Feminism?" "Women as Jurors," etc., which it is distributing widely.

Mrs. Horace Brock, President of the Pennsylvania Association, who will return

from a several months' stay in California and other suffrage States, and take up the active management of the Pennsylvania campaign on September 1st, has forwarded the following notes of her observations in the States where women vote:

"I met on the Alaska trip two ladies from Seattle, one a commercial traveler, the other a woman of means. Both opposed woman suffrage. They said the best judges are strong in their condemnation of women jurors, feeling that it hardens the women, some of whom listen unmoved to tales and language that men find repulsive. Not infrequently one woman serves with eleven men. The suffrage women like it and court it, and judges won't excuse the others who don't like it. It is idle to think you can get off all cases by saying you have formed an opinion. A politician on the Alaska trip told me he had asked men pretty generally about woman suffrage out here and all agreed it had not elevated men or politics, but had lowered women.

"I have asked men and women I have met here in San Francisco. I find the majority opposed and that few of the best women vote. A chauffeur told me his wife and mother would not vote, and but few of their friends did. A trained nurse said neither she nor her family and but few of her patients voted. Another professional woman stated that if the women of the East would attend an election here it would cure them of any desire for the ballot. She says at first none of the best women voted, but at the last election things were so bad their men folk made them.

"As to saying that all the women who vote are in favor of suffrage, it is rot," she declares."

Mrs. John B. Heron, of Pittsburgh, a Vice-President of the National Association, has been in frequent conferences with Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt, Acting President, and other Pennsylvania anti-suffrage leaders in the Eastern District.

A Campaign Committee has been formed which includes some of the most influential men of Philadelphia, among them Mr. John Cadwalader, Jr., Mr. W. W. Frazier, Mr. Charles C. Harrison, Mr. Samuel F. Houston, Mr. Alba B. Johnson, Rev. Edward J. McHenry, Mr. S. Davis Page, Dr. Charles B. Penrose, Mr. W. D. Winsor.

### Minnesota Garden Party

(Minneapolis Tribune, August 18)

**M**ORETON WOODS" and "Tanager Hill," the respective homes of Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Webber and Mr. and Mrs. Frank W. Commons, were gay yesterday with throngs of Anti-Suffragists from Minneapolis, St. Paul and Lake Minnetonka, who participated in the festivities of the flower and garden fête given by the Anti-Suffrage Associations of the Twin Cities. The hours were from 3 to 7.



### Miss Shaw's Errors and Her Slogan

**I**N speaking before the Chautauqua at Somerset, Penna., last month, Anna Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, warned her hearers against the statistics which the speaker of the next day (an anti-suffragist) might give. "Remember," she said, "that while figures do not lie, liars do figure."

Later, in speaking of her campaign in the West, she said, "Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of New Jersey, an anti-suffrage speaker, left her husband and several children to follow me about to tell her audiences that a woman's place is in the home."

The following day Miss Bronson, the anti-suffrage speaker, spoke at the same Chautauqua. In reply to Dr. Shaw, she said, "I understand I have already been introduced to this audience by Dr. Shaw, who warned you against my statistics because 'though figures do not lie, liars do figure.' Doubtless this explains the amazing statement of Dr. Shaw that Mrs. O. D. Oliphant has several children. The latter lady has no children and never has had."

Miss Shaw first made this erroneous statement about Mrs. Oliphant during the Western campaign. As she continued to repeat it, her attention was repeatedly called to the fact that it was erroneous.

Nevertheless, now, many months later, she still persists in her error (?). Can this be, as Miss Bronson suggests, the real significance of Miss Shaw's elegant slogan: "While figures do not lie, liars do figure"?

### Alabama Repudiates It

Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 6.—By a margin of one vote the House committee on privileges and elections to-night voted to report adversely the bill submitting an amendment granting woman suffrage in Alabama. The vote stood 6 to 5.

(The Montgomery (Ala.) *Advertiser*,  
August 26, 1915)

Woman's suffrage for Alabama was given a decided blow yesterday in the House when the amendment providing for the submission of the "votes for women" question to the people was defeated, the supporters of the bill failing to muster the necessary three-fifths vote of the House. The vote was 52 to 43 in favor of submitting the question, but it required a total of sixty-four votes for the amendment to pass. This defeat amounts practically to a death blow for the woman's suffrage as far as this legislature is concerned.

### A Bishop Spoils a Suffrage Story

By MISS ELIZA D. ARMSTRONG.

**F**OR years Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the suffragists, has been telling her hearers, with a tone of deep accusation in her voice, that in the early days of the church, it was solemnly debated at a great council whether women had souls! Even at her last annual report at the Nashville convention last November, the leader of the suffragists—who, by the way, is a preacher—expanded on this topic and berated the bishops who debated the soulful question about women.

Last week, at the annual convention of the A. F. C. S. in Toledo, Bishop Joseph Schremps, D.D., of Toledo, one of the greatest scholars of his church, referred to this story humorously after the question arose as to whether "laymen" included women.

"That reminds me of a story that is going the rounds of the country that the Church once debated whether women had souls," said the Bishop. "As it has gained great circulation, and the explanation is amusing, I will relate it. At one of the early councils of the Church in Spain, the Latin word 'homo,' which, of course, is a generic term and includes both men and women, was used in a resolution regarding the human soul. A bishop from one of the rural districts, who was not proficient in the classic meaning of the Latin word, desired to add 'muliere' to the word 'homo' as he thought it should read 'man and woman.' Thereupon, the other bishops who were present, proceeded to inform that man as to the exact meaning of the word 'homo.'"

It was finally decided, however, that "laymen" did not exactly include women, and "laymen's retreats" was changed to "lay retreats" in the resolution passed by the Federation at Toledo.

So now, the suffragists have the truth, or if they prefer, an excellent opportunity to add to the "soul story" another fake that it was AGAIN debated at a big church convention in 1915.

### That Gossipy Truckman

A suffrage speaker in New Jersey made the statement at a meeting recently that she knew a large sum of money had been voted by a brewing association to help the antis. When asked for her authority, she said, "I was told by a driver of one of the brewing association's trucks, who was present at the meeting when the money was voted."

### New Federation Club Opposes Partisanship

(Boston Record, August 10.)

**A**S an aftermath of the annual conference of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs at Marion last June comes the announcement of the final organization of the Association of Non-Partisan Club Women. This new association will have as its president Mrs. Henry Collidge Mulligan of Natick, a former president of the State Federation.

Speaking on the purposes of the Association of Non-Partisan Club Women the vice-president, Mrs. William W. Churchill of Milton, said:

"The association is non-partisan. Its chief purpose is to oppose the introduction of partisanship questions in the Federation. It will not supplant the work of the State Federation. Only the clubs are eligible for membership in the Federation, but only individual members are eligible for membership in the Non-Partisan Association, who will work to prevent trouble in the Federation by the introduction of questions of a partisanship nature."

In accepting the presidency, Mrs. Henry C. Mulligan said: "After careful consideration I have decided to accept the office of president of the Association of Non-Partisan Club Women, an organization recently formed to help the women's clubs of Massachusetts to maintain a non-partisanship position in their activities. Of late years, through the growth of suffrage sentiment and through the activity of certain club women who consider the suffrage cause of paramount importance, a new interpretation has been given to the constitution, an interpretation which made possible the presentation of the resolution at Marion.

"The widespread dissatisfaction and dissension which have arisen as a result of the passage of this resolution clearly indicate that equal suffrage must still be regarded as a partisan question. Aside from the evil consequences of injecting a partisan question into our Federation, the methods used to secure the passage of the resolution have also aroused criticism.

"A further source of dissatisfaction is the fact that the vote has been made to appear other than the mere expression of the personal opinion of the delegates, although, in response to a question from the floor during the debate, the chairman stated that the vote would be a personal vote. I believe that the welfare of the Federation requires that such action be taken as shall forever bar the introduction of partisan questions. I, therefore, approve of the formation of this Association of Non-Partisan Club Women and am willing to work to further its purposes."



### The Facts Again Destroy a Suffrage Story

(The Literary Digest, July 31.)

**I**N the whole history of the invidious art of fouling one's own nest there has probably never been so complete a masterpiece as the war-babies outcry of a few weeks ago." In these words the *Manchester Guardian* stigmatizes a rumor that spread like wildfire, occupied columns of newspapers in England, and was noticed in these pages, regarding the unscrupulous immorality of the British army in the neighboring training camps.

The findings of a committee of the British National Union of Women Workers seem to justify the strong words of the *Manchester paper*. Indeed, that paper finds it "difficult to think with charity of those who began it, though the number of ordinarily sober-minded people who helped to spread it by accepting and passing on wild statements on the slightest evidence, or on no evidence at all, shows that it is to be reckoned with as part of the psychology of war, like the amazing story of Russian troops who traveled through England last September."

\* \* \* \* \*

Commenting on which Mrs. A. J. George said recently: "It must also be reckoned with as part of the psychology of the suffrage movement, for it was by suffragists alone in this country that the alleged war-babies scare was spread, and it was spread as another 'reason' why women should vote! In England the militants made capital out of the movement by promising to found an institution for the care of the mythical babies, and the feminists made capital out of it as a basis for their claim that modern conditions make the 'old-fashioned' marriage ceremony a relic of barbarism."

### "Vote a Privilege, Not a Right" —Supreme Court

(Sacramento, Cal., *Bee*, August 11)

**S**ENATOR JAMES D. PHELAN, in receiving a committee of suffragists pleading for his support of an amendment to the Federal Constitution wiping out the barriers of sex, informed the women that suffrage is a privilege and not a right.

Which brought from Judge James G. Maguire the following excellently-worded and clearly-thought-out protest:

"I feel that statement should not pass unchallenged. Suffrage is the most sacred of all political rights, and no person should be admitted to it as a mere matter of privilege. It has been extended to the women of California as a matter of right; and, unless it is their right, such extension was an indefensible interference with the rights and powers of the men whose control of public affairs has thus been disturbed."

California did not grant the women the right to vote on any plea that it was given them as a stick of candy, a toy or as a condescension on man's part, but merely in recognition of a just claim.

The distinguished California jurist endorsed by this California newspaper sets up a theory which the United States Supreme Court has declared untenable. This highest court has declared officially that the suffrage is not a right, but a privilege. This privilege is bestowed in exchange for a particular service by the citizen. Such service includes the readiness to defend the laws by force of arms, jury service, etc.

### The Frank Case as it Concerns Colorado

**T**HE "Frank case," in Georgia, was seized upon by suffragists as a means of securing publicity for "the cause." The majority of the suffragists quoted laid the blame for the lynching upon the lack of woman's votes in Georgia, forgetting that Colorado, where women have voted over 21 years, has recently been the scene of far more widespread mob rule.

As an example of suffrage comment, we quote the following from the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

"Miss Alice Parker Hutchins, chairman of the Political Committee of the Woman Suffrage party, gave her opinion about the death of Frank as follows:

"In all questions of mob action, I think that the cause can be traced back to the bad training for citizenship. Women's help in citizenship is absolutely necessary. When I hear of such an outrage as the Frank lynching it makes me wonder at once how those who perpetrated the crime were trained. They certainly have no respect for law. I think the mob spirit always prevails. In the Northern States the cases are just opposite and the sympathy is with the person condemned and the sympathizers forget the victims. I do not think that the perpetrators of the crime are to be condemned any more than the officials who have permitted the conditions which encouraged the crime. I think the women are at fault more or less in the training of their children, who make citizens. Women are at least half to blame, and when they are finally enfranchised I believe the conditions will be better."

## Evidence of the Refining Influence of Suffrage

**W**OMEN were at one time regarded as being the gentler sex, "gentler" being taken to mean "more refined."

The attitude of the suffragists in public "stunts," such as soap-box oratory and other publicity methods discussed elsewhere in this issue, has had much to do with demeaning women as a class.

The attitude of the suffragists toward their opponents has further accentuated this tendency.

At almost any anti-suffrage meeting or suffrage debate, suffragists interrupt the proceedings with "heckling" of a very common sort.

One of the most deplorable evidences of a lack of self-respect is the suffragists' way of "whispering" in a tone audible throughout the hall. "That's a lie!" "Oh! what a liar!" as their oppo-

nent states a fact which they know cannot be refuted. And these women are not ignorant, though they may be lacking in proper home training. They are the active workers of suffrage.

While this policy reflects primarily upon suffragists, it also lowers women as a whole in the eyes of an observing world.

As an illustration of the state of mind into which suffragists have evolved (retrogressively), an anti-suffrage speaker tells of an experience in Washington. She was talking with an apparently well-bred woman, a suffragist, who did not know who she was. When an acquaintance called her by name, the suffragist exclaimed, "Oh, so you are the biggest liar in this country!"

No doubt this is pleasant exercise for nerves that enjoy wrangling and jarring, but it does not add to the esteem in which the name of woman has always been held.



## THE NAVY LEAGUE

ON July 4, 1915, patriotic women in Washington formed the Woman's Section of the Navy League, an organization devoted to the duty of "insuring the United States against the possibility of being invaded." The first act of the founders of the Section was to adopt the following pledge as a requisite of membership therein:

"I pledge myself to think, talk and work for patriotism, Americanism and sufficient national defenses to keep the horrors of war far from America's homes and shores forever.

"In these days of world strife and peril I will strive to do my share to awaken our nation and our lawmakers to the dangers of our present undefended condition so that we may continue to dwell in peace and prosperity and may not have to mourn States desolated by war within our own borders.

"In so far as I am able, I will make my home a center of American ideals and patriotism, and endeavor to teach the children in my care to cherish and revere Our Country and its history, and to uphold its honor and fair repute in their generation."

At present there are no fees or dues for membership in the Woman's Section.

## SUFFRAGE FOLLIES

(From the New York Sun.)

TO THE EDITOR.—Sir: As I read the article in *The Sun* regarding the loss of the suffrage torch, which politely intimates it may be traced to the anti-suffragists, I write to ask if you do not think, aside from any moral question, it would be a very stupid move on our part to do anything to interfere with the theatrical performances of the suffragists.

The more barefoot dancing, sensational "hikes," addresses to the Statue of Liberty, unveiling of tablets to old women who broke the law of the land, riding of elephants, attendance at prize fights, lugging of torches by vestal virgins, wives and widows, wooing of State Senators with strawberry shortcakes (as they do in Hartford) and like follies, the better for the antis.

It is not possible that thinking men who see and hear these things will put into the hands of these women the power of the ballot, for these are the women who would be potent in politics if they had the chance.

But to return to our grievance. You and "Founder" Bradley both owe us an apology. I am surprised that no one has yet accused us of lynching Leo Frank.

MARY ELLEN ROBERTS.

Newport, R. I., Aug. 20.

## UNITED WOMEN

"ALL of us talk too much," says a leading suffrage writer. And sometimes this propensity results in a burst of honest opinion quite contrary to what the suffrage speakers are taught in their school for speakers.

This accounts for the following report in connection with new suffrage propaganda:

"Prominent women of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive Parties are working in the interest of a convention of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in the different suffrage States.

"The admission of so many women to citizenship," said Miss Alice Paul, "has changed the basis of representation in the country, and with the women working together regardless of party affiliations, they should have greater influence in Washington. To unite these women will be the work of the convention."

This is sound anti-suffrage doctrine. Women are more influential when they are working together "regardless of party affiliations." Voters must divide as partisans. Women, as non-voters, have a stronger position and wield a greater influence because of their non-partisanship.

## NO 1-DAY STRIKE

OF all the suffrage publicity stunts, the one that got most publicity injured the suffrage cause most. This was the "one-day strike." Suffragists never intended to call it, because they knew how few wage earners are interested in suffrage. We are only sorry they did not try it. The following editorial forecasted the consequences:

(From Editorial in *New York World*)

There is, of course, not the slightest prospect of a suffragist walkout of the kind. In the first place, it could not occur without the consent of anti-suffragist women in gainful occupations; while those who struck for the cause would have to reckon with the risk of losing their employment.

It is unlikely enough that suffragists will hazard the fiasco a one-day strike of women would prove to be. Nor if it succeeded, could we think of anything more likely to defeat the suffrage amendment than such a demonstration of feminine irresponsibility.

## AN "ANTI" SONG

"THE Anti-Suffrage Rose" is the title of the new anti-suffrage song that has just been produced as a phonograph record. It is one of the features of anti-suffrage work at county fairs. The song runs:

Suffragists say, happen what may,  
They'll win the coming fight;  
'Twixt you and me, I don't agree;  
We're going to show them who's right!  
Jonquils they wear cannot compare  
With the Anti-Suffrage Rose,  
Token of love and a gift from above,  
Loveliest flow'r that grows.

Chorus:

Lovely Anti-Suffrage Rose,  
You're the flow'r that's best of all!  
You're better far than jonquils are,  
We are going to prove it in the fall.  
Sweetest flow'r in all the world,  
Everybody knows;  
You're the chosen emblem of a noble cause!  
You Anti-Suffrage Rösel

## IN COLORADO!

COLORADO has had woman suffrage for over twenty-one years. The *Denver Post*, in its issue of July 20, publishes for its front-page cartoon a picture of a garbage can filled to overflowing, surrounded by a swarm of buzzing insects which seem to be moving back and forth from the garbage pail to the bedroom windows, and at the side of the can this legend:

"To the Commissioner of Public Welfare:

"Dear Sir—Our garbage has not been collected for five days. We are lucky if our garbage can is emptied once a week. We have a baby and realize the danger. How about it?

A DENVER MOTHER."

From the press reports the garbage disposal condition in Denver is a stench that reaches to heaven, yet Denver has a woman's civic club and a woman's organization that is urging public office for women only, and Colorado has had women voters since 1893.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

(Los Angeles Times)

Policemen must salute the flag whenever it passes in review in street pageants or appears in any way at a public gathering. The right hand must touch the visor of the cap, and no excuses for failure to salute will be tolerated by Chief of Police Snively who issued the order yesterday.

He says: "It is a sign of respect that is appreciated by everyone who may witness your sign of loyalty. You will at the same time be setting an example for 'Young America.'"

Why is it that the flag is so seldom seen in suffrage parades, where the yellow flag of suffrage and the red flag of socialism float so harmoniously?

(Brooklyn Standard-Union)

Men who are in favor of votes for women are becoming convinced that so far the campaign is a failure, according to a statement made to-day by Frank A. Byrne, secretary of the Trade Union Woman's Suffrage League of Greater New York.

Mr. Byrne has visited scores of meetings recently, and also sounded the sentiments of men on the streets.

Hitherto he has been most optimistic, but when asked about the situation to-day, he remarked:

"The carrying of the suffrage amendment this fall appears to me to be more in doubt now than it was ten months ago, and I am at a loss to know the reason. Some men who were committed to supporting woman suffrage are either indifferent or opposed to the extension of the electoral franchise to women at the present time."

Mrs. E. B. Finck writes: "I have lived here twenty years, and I know that I can go to the men of either party for anything we want for women and children. If I went as a politician, they would refer me to a party, and if my party were not in power, I would be refused a hearing, and it would simmer down to a matter of how many votes behind the measure, instead of how much good it would do. If the women would spend half the time on educating the men, and telling them the things that ought to be done for the public good that they do in suffrage agitation, we would get every law we need without any trouble. If the men are so terribly bad, as the Suffragists say, whose fault is it? Every man has a mother, and though we cannot be certain of a child's future, no matter how good the mother, we women must bear part of the responsibility for all the bad there is in the average man."

What shall we do about woman? The hardest thing about the woman problem is to realize that it exists. Is there any serious danger that she will not succeed as a sex? Apart from this slight risk, it would seem to be a mere human being problem after all. People are so used to this large, loose language that nothing seems to amaze them, and when a woman exclaims, "Come, let us solve motherhood and then expose fatherhood, clearing up the marriage question *en passant*," it is taken as a matter of course. I hold that intrinsically it is supremely queer, and that age cannot wither or custom stale its infinite absurdity.

Frank Moore Colby from "Imaginary Obligations."

Arrangements have been made by the anti-suffrage organizations in the various up-State counties in New York to take an active part in the women's day celebrations in the various county fairs. Booths have been arranged for at forty of these events and at all of them representatives will be on hand to secure signatures, distribute literature and answer questions. At many of them arrangements have been made for a speaker to present the side of the women who are proposing the proposed Constitutional amendment.

(From a letter by a Country Woman)

"This is a new business to me. I've never paid very much attention to it; always opposed, but thought it wasn't likely that women would vote in New York State in my day, though they might in the time of my grandchildren. It is now getting too thick and warm and I can't see things go on without a protest.

"So many men seem to think they must be in favor of it to please the women. They say, 'Why, if the women want to vote, they ought to be allowed to do so.' For all the world, as they might say, 'If the children want a picnic, let them have it.'

"This is no picnic, and it is time we country women were interested and busy."

OCEANSIDE, L. I.—Suffragists of this place have arranged a Novel scheme to draw a crowd to Terrell Hall to-morrow night, when Dr. Katherine B. Davis, Commissioner of Corrections of New York, is to make a suffrage speech.

Every train arriving in the early evening at Lynbrook, East Rockaway and Rockville Center, three points of which Oceanside is the geographical center, will be met

by feminine suffrage emissaries, who will present the commuters with cards announcing the meeting. With the invitation will be a boutonniere of some yellow flower, the suffrage color.

There has been much talk about giving the vote to women, but this is not the real question. The question to be decided next November is whether the right to vote—the duty of voting—shall be extended to women contrary to the wishes of a majority of women. Less than 10 per cent. of the women of New York are to-day enrolled as in favor of woman's suffrage, after 66 years of continuous agitation.

These are indisputable facts, and these facts clearly indicate that women—a majority of women—do not want the vote. In the face of these facts, how can anyone claim that there is any real desire for, or any real necessity of, woman's suffrage?

The suffrage leaders may want the vote—or think they do—but the vast majority of women do not want to bother with the vote and will not bother with the vote.

The questions which the voters of New York must decide in November are, whether calling upon the women of the State to perform the duty of voting, contrary to their wishes, will not be an injustice to the women, and whether forcing the ballot upon an unwilling electorate will not be an injury to the State.

A quotation from a feminist article prepared for publication is as follows:

"The Mormon Church claims the distinction (of protecting and guiding woman) quite as much as the others. According to its accounts, women would be the prey of ravishing wolves if it did not stand between her and the evil forces of society. We are inclined to be somewhat sceptical as to the stand taken by the Mormons, as our ideals and theirs are radically different, and we are not yet prepared to accept polygamy as a desirable solution, much as there is to be said for it from a practical point of view."

This quotation is a splendid example of the complete freedom from prejudice and the progressive ideas which actuate the modern women. Polygamy, the blot on our national civilization, is "practical" they say, though the feminists are "not yet prepared to accept it." We see no reason to fear that they are not ready and willing to accept any "practical" solution and so the doctrine of polygamy will meet with no objection on their part if it ever becomes expedient.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

A member of one of our Western State Associations sends us a copy of an up-State (New York) paper containing a "suffrage page." She says when she sent expostulations to the editor that he was running a suffrage organ he replied that the page was run and *paid for* as advertising matter.

A woman entered the Anti-Suffrage headquarters in Trenton last month and asked for some literature. She said she didn't know very much about the question but, as she "had just been elected president of the suffrage club in our town," thought she had better "read up a little" on the subject.

Was it a normal woman who rose in the last convention of the National Woman Suffrage Convention and pledged twenty-five dollars "because she had escaped matrimony."

Was it a normal woman who in the same convention pledged a sum almost as large in honor of the children she did not have after ten years of marriage?

At a celebration of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's one hundredth birthday, held at Shoreham (L.I.), her granddaughter, Nora Blatch De Forest, said that if the women in New York had the vote the 54-hour canning bill would not have been repealed. If ignorance was not responsible for the statement, what was?

In a debate held before the Daughters of Liberty in Passaic, N. J., recently, Mrs. Holmes, the suffrage speaker, said, "The Constitution of the United States says everybody can vote except idiots, criminals and women." When asked to tell where this remarkable statement could be found in the Constitution, Mrs. Holmes "could not remember." She cited the Triangle fire, in which so many unfortunate girls lost their lives, as an example of the sort of protection women receive under "man-made laws." By the same process of logic are we to blame the women voters of Chicago for the Eastland horror?

A man suffragist, speaking before a New Jersey Grange picnic, remarked recently, "I love my mother and wife more than any other people in the world, so I am going to give them the vote." (Applause.) If the ballot is to be regarded as a token of affection, to be bestowed upon objects of adoration by the adorer, we shall in time regard the government as a sort of

glorified bonbon shop. The next step to men's enfranchising wives because they love them will be the enfranchisement of babies by doting mothers, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

'Tis truly a saccharine sequence.

(From *Flushing Times*, Aug. 12.)

"The saloons are behind the anti-suffrage movement. In supporting the 'antis' you are helping the saloons. Our real opponents are not the few 'antis,' but the liquor men, who are spending millions of dollars to defeat the movement for woman suffrage."—Mrs. Catherine Peck Wylde, speaking at the bi-monthly meeting of the Queens-Nassau W. C. T. U.

The average man or woman of sound and disposing mind, reading the brilliant effusion quoted above, will appreciate the peculiar significance of the speaker's name.

The National Association has four records which are being used with great success at fairs and small meetings. One on "Taxation," a four-minute record dealing with the misapplication by the suffragists of the famous "Taxation without representation is Tyranny"; price \$3.

A talk on the general subject of the *opposition* to woman suffrage by Mrs. A. J. George; 4 minutes; price \$3. "Woman Suffrage Has Not Made Good," by Miss Minnie Bronson; 2½ minute record; price \$2, and the song, "Anti-Suffrage Rose"; 2½ minutes; price \$1.50.

The records can be used on either a Columbia or a Victor machine.

For the first time in New York State a woman has been appointed head of a school board.

This woman is Mrs. Henry P. Griffin, President of the White Plains School Board.

Mrs. Griffin is very strongly opposed to woman suffrage because she believes that woman's strength lies in her non-partisanship.

The *Brooklyn Eagle* of August 15 quotes Mrs. Griffin as follows:

"I believe that the very fact that a woman is absolutely neutral politically is what makes for her success in her fight for reforms and community betterment. Just as soon as she becomes a voter and lines up with some political party her efforts toward reform will become political issues."

Philadelphia suffragists attended a ball game in a body. "Bats for Women" may come next.—*Houston Post*.

The advocates of equal suffrage propose to cross the continent in automobiles, when Congress convenes again, to ask that the suffrage movement be adopted this year. If the women are qualified to receive the ballot they are qualified to refrain from bringing up agitation that will embarrass the government at this time.—Temple, Tex., *Telegram*.

Portland, Ore., August 24—Former President William H. Taft declined to receive a party of Congressional Union Suffragists at his hotel here yesterday, it became known to-day.

Mrs. Lee Davenport of this city led the delegation, which was composed of about a dozen women. At the hotel they sent word to Mr. Taft that they desired to lay before him their propaganda. Mr. Taft sent back an answer, written in his own hand and couched in courteous terms, saying his schedule of engagements for the day was full and that he could not possibly receive them. Mrs. Davenport sent up an insistent reply, but the former President stood firm.

(*Los Angeles Examiner*, August 10)

Rather than deny her faith in the justice of equal suffrage, or by inference criticize its success in this State, Lucy Ward Stebbins, dean of women at the University of California, has resigned her appointment as a councilor for Radcliffe, and refused to represent her alma mater at the Association of Collegiate Alumnae convention in San Francisco this month.

It is expected that a resolution proposing the indorsement of equal suffrage is to be proposed at the convention. Accordingly, Radcliffe instructed its delegates to "take no action toward indorsement."

Miss Stebbins immediately wired her resignation as a representative of her college.

Mrs. W. S. Heinemann of Pasadena, president of the Los Angeles branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, last night declared the proposed resolution indorsing equal suffrage will be one of the most interesting features of the convention which is to be held in San Francisco next week, beginning Monday.

From all over the United States delegates and councilors are coming. Some, like those from Radcliffe, are instructed to take no action on the amendment, while still others are to oppose it.



### THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*  
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*  
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894)

Taxation and Suffrage *Hon. Elihu Root*  
Woman and the Law *Frederick Dwight*  
First Legislative Address *Francis M. Scott*  
The Woman Suffrage Crisis *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*  
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.  
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law  
Dodgers

#### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*

The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
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Woman's Rights vs. Woman's Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*  
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*  
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27 William Street Room 1903 New York City

Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913 *Everett P. Wheeler*

Questionnaire *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William I. Sedgwick*

#### The Woman and the Vote

(Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914) *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Feminist Revolutionary Principle Biologically Unsound

*Professor William T. Sedgwick*  
Brief Submitted to House of Representatives, July, 1914

*Everett P. Wheeler*

Colorado and Suffrage *John C. Ten Eyck*

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Brief on Woman Suffrage; Political Suffrage for Women Sub-

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The Laws of New York Favor and Protect Woman

*Raymond B. Seymour, of the New York Bar*

What Women Have Done Without the Ballot

*Everett P. Wheeler*

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Suffrage Map of the United States.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*

The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*

Vocation of Woman (\$1.50) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*

The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*

The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00)

*Sir Almroth Wright*

The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*

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Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women

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Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage

Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*

Woman Suffrage in Practice—An Answer to George Creel

Address in Opposition to Woman Suffrage

*Mrs. George A. Caswell*

Anti-Suffrage Manual (15c. a copy) *Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee*

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